

N^o (7) THE
CRAFTSMAN'S
VINDICATION
Of His two Hor^{ble}s
PATRONS,

V I Z.

The Rt. Hon. *W---m P---y*, Esq;
and, the late *L---d B---ke*.

By CBLEB D'ANUERS, of *Gray's-Inn*, Esq;

LONDON, *May 22*, 1731.

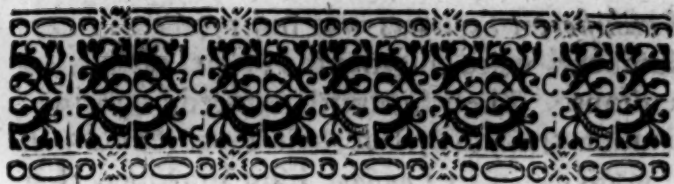


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THE
CRAFTSMAN'S
VINDICATION
&c.

Mr. D'Anvers,

SINCE you have gone through the Task, which you undertook at my Desire, and have carried your *Remarks on the History of England* as far as you judge them necessary at this Time, I think my self obliged to return you Thanks for your Trouble, and to say something to you, concerning the Clamour rais'd and the Conduct held, upon this Occasion, by *Those*, who not content with the Merit of being *your Adversaries*, have declared Themselves such at last to the very Being of the *British Constitution*, and to the Principles on which the *present Establishment* is built, and on which alone it can stand secure.

Before I left the Town, nay as soon as my *first Letter* to you appeared, the whole Possibility
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of *ministerial Scriblers* was summon'd. Their Numbers were augmented; perhaps their Pensions. Their Strength, indeed, continu'd much the same; but their Fury redoubled. At my Return to *London*, I am informed that these *weekly Swarms* have continued to buz about ever since; that the *Insects* have been dispers'd by every Flap of your Pen; but that, like *true Insects*, They have still gathered again and renew'd their Din.—I say, that I am informed of This; because, among other Circumstances, which compose the Ease and Quiet of a Country Life, We are sure of not being infested there by these mighty Swarms of *little Creatures*. As their Lives are short, the Extent, in which They ramble, is narrow and few of them take their Flight beyond the Bills of Mortality.

The Manner, in which *these Writers* have supported the Dispute between *You* and *Them*, and the Explanations, to which They have been push'd, confirm all the Suspicions, which it was natural to entertain, when so great an Alarm was taken at the first direct Avowal of an Attempt to revive the *Spirit of Liberty*, and to recal to the Minds of Men, the true Notions of the *British Constitution*. They were so earnest to discourage the Prosecution of such a Design; They were so eager to find Fault, where so little Fault was to be found, that They catch'd at every Word, in which They imagined the least Slip had been made, though the Subject would not have been



been affected, nor the Merits of the Cause have been altered, if these Slips had been real, and had proceeded from my Ignorance, as the Objections proceeded from theirs.

I should not so much as mention This, if it was not necessary to shew that your real Crime, as well as mine towards the *Persons*, who encourage and direct *these Authors*, is our starting the *Subject*, not our *Manner* of treating it. Their Anger appeared, the Clamour of their Party was raised, and all the Powers of Scurrility and Calumny were call'd forth to their Aid, before any of those Pretences were found out, which They afterwards so meanly and so immorally employed against us. To prove This, beyond the Contradiction of any Man of Sense and Candour, it will be only necessary to appeal to the whole Scope of my *first Letters* to you, which raised the Storm; for what do *those Letters* contain besides general and inoffensive Reflections on the Nature of *Liberty* and of *Faction*, and on the Necessity of keeping the *Spirit of Liberty* alive and active, even in Times of apparent Security? Your Writings were justified indeed, in *these Letters*; but so they had been in *others* and on many precedent Occasions. The Charge of *Jacobitism* was refuted, indeed, with the Contempt it deserved, and *factionous Designs*, of another Kind, were pointed out; but *factionous Designs* had been imputed to the *same Persons* before and upon the same Grounds. It remains then, that
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this *new Alarm* was taken, as I just now said, at the general Design of *those Papers*; and it That was sufficient to give such an Alarm, sure I am, that you are more than justified for all you writ before this Dispute began, and for all you have published in the Course of it.

The *old Gentleman*, who defended you in your former *Letters*, thought you deserved the Acknowledgments of every honest Man for attempting to revive *this Spirit*, even supposing you to have no other Reason, than your Observation, that a *contrary Temper* prevail'd. How much is this Reason inforced, how much more do you deserve the Acknowledgements of every honest Man, if it is become evident, not only that a *supine Temper*, contrary to the Activity of *this Spirit*, had prevailed; but that a *contrary Spirit* hath been raised, and that *Principles*, destructive of all *Liberty*, and particularly adapted to destroy That of the *British Government*, are avowed, taught and propagated?

If I pronounced too hastily, in my *second Letter*, that the *Mask was pulled off*, surely We may now say, upon Knowledge, not Belief, that the *Mask is fallen off from your Adversaries*, in the Scuffle. I shall not repeat what is said in your Discourses, nor add any Thing to them. You have there quoted the *Doctrines of Slavery*. You have shew'd the direct and indirect Tendency of them all; and you have remark'd, that *some* of them have been taught even by *Those*, who have in the

the same Breath admitted the *Consequences* of them. Nothing less therefore than a *constant* and *vigorous Opposition*, of which you have set us the Example, will be able to stop the Progress of those *pernicious Doctrines*. The *Principles*, which King *James I.* established, were not more absurd than *These*. Their Tendency was more obvious; but, for that Reason, they were less dangerous. If *those Principles* prevailed very far by Time and Encouragement, and had like to have prevailed farther; why should not *These* have the same, or greater Success: It may be said, perhaps, that the Authority of the *Crown* help'd the Progress of the *former*, which is not our *present Case*. To this Distinction I shall submit very readily; but if *these Principles* have gain'd some Ground already, and that they have gain'd some, cannot be deny'd, without *this Authority* to inforce them; is there not Reason to fear that they may gain more, and is not every Degree they gain, a Degree more of Danger to this Constitution of Government?—Surely, Mr. *D'Anvers*, there can remain no Doubt in the Breast of any Man, who hath given the least Attention to the Disputes between *You* and your *Adversaries*, whether *They* or *You* are on the Side of *Liberty*; and therefore it is an Aggravation of their Guilt, that they have endeavoured to make *your Writings* pass for an Opposition to the *present, happy Establishment*, and *their Cause* for That of the *Crown*. You and I have sufficiently

ciently declared our selves, and answered Them, on the *first Head*. If They had been able to produce an Instance, where, departing from your *Subject*, you had given Occasion to draw any *odious Parallel*, the Intention of drawing such a *Parallel* might, with some Colour, have been imputed to You; but since They have not been able to do This, and have been defied to do it, the Reproach and Infamy of making such *Parallels*, as well as the scandalous Immorality of imputing Them to *others*, must lye at their Door. Let us see how well their Pretensions are supported on the *second Head*, and whether We cannot prove, without any forc'd Constructions of their Words, or arbitrary Interpretations of their Meaning, that the open and secret Abettors of *these Writers*, are either Enemies of the *present Establishment*, or have some *private Interest* more at Heart, than the true Interest of *this Establishment*.

This Establishment is founded on the Principles of *Liberty*; on the very Principles you have maintained. It was made by the People of *Great Britain*, to secure the Possession of their *Liberty*, as well as their *Religion*. Had contrary Principles prevail'd; either Those, which tend to subvert the Constitution, by raising *Prerogative*, and which were justly objected to some of the *Tories* formerly; or Those, which tend to subvert it, by undermining *Liberty*, and which are as justly objected to some of the *Whigs* now; *this E-*
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Establishment could never have been made.

Who are *Enemies* and who are *Friends* therefore to *publick Liberty*, and to the *present Establishment*? Are *you* their *Enemy*, who defend not only the general Principles of *Liberty*, but the particular Principles and the particular Ends, on which and for which *this Establishment* was made? Are your *Adversaries* *Friends* to *either*, when they only seem to admit some general Notions of *Liberty*, that They may promote with greater Effect, on particular Occasions, the Doctrines of *Slavery*; and when They endeavour to destroy the Principles, and to defeat the Ends of the *present Establishment*? The *Revolution* and the *Acts of Settlement* have secured us against the Dangers, which were formerly apprehended from *Prerogative*. To what Purpose are *Measures* and Principles of *Policy* daily pleaded for, which would expose us to greater Dangers than *These*? Why are such incessant Pains taken to shew by what Means *Liberty* may be undermined, and our *Constitution* destroyed even now, after all We have done and all We have suffered to secure *one*, and to improve the *other*? I shall not give particular Answers to these Questions; nor offer to assign the private Interest, which the *Persons* who are guilty of This, may have at Heart; for I will, upon no Occasion, even seem to follow the Example of your *Adversaries*; nor presume to deliver my Suspicions, though real and well-grounded, as the Intentions of
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other Men. This alone I will repeat; that They, who argue and hire others to argue in this Manner, do in Fact promote some Interest, which is repugnant to the Ends, for which the People of this Nation establish'd the *Protestant Succession*, and the *present Settlement of the Crown*. They have not yet attack'd the *Religion*, but They manifestly attack the *Liberty* of their Country; and as much as these Two are interwoven together, though it be true that whenever our *Religion* is in Danger, our *civil Liberty* must be so likewise; yet it is as true that *Religion* may be safe, and *civil Liberty* in Danger.

I have nothing more to add upon *this Head*, before I proceed to That, which shall conclude my Letter, except my Desires that you will persist, and my Hopes that you will succeed in the *Cause* you have undertaken; the Cause of your Country; the Cause of *Truth* and of *Liberty*. The Means you employ are Those of *Argument* and *Persuasion*; the lawful, and the sole lawful Means, which can be employed to rouse an indolent, to inform a deceived, to reclaim a corrupt, or to reconcile a divided People. Let the *Faction* continue to assert, as They have had already the Impudence and the Folly to do, in one of their *ministerial Pamphlets*, that the Faults They are pleas'd to ascribe to the People of *Great Britain* * render an *ARMY* necessary.

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* See some Observations on the present State of Affairs.

Instead of endeavouring to *persuade* and to *win*, let them endeavour to *force* and *corrupt* their Countrymen. The *Spirit of Liberty* abhors such Means, and the *Cause of Liberty* would be dishonour'd by them. If this Nation was as *corrupt* and *depraved* as it is said to be by *Those*, who do their utmost to *corrupt* and *deprave* it ; if our Country was in that *declining State*, and the *Freedom of our Government* as near its Period as They affirm, there would remain no Part for any honest Man to take, except That of sitting silently down and perishing in the common Shipwreck ; but surely This is not yet our Case, nor will it become our Case, unless We are induced to believe it so ; unless We make our Ruin irretrievable by struggling no longer against it. There are Men, many We think, who have not bowed the Knee to *Baal*, nor worshipped the *brazen Image*. We may therefore hope, that there is still a Blessing in Store for us. In all Events, Mr. *D'Anvers*, you are sure of one Advantage, which no Violence, no Injustice can take from you ; the inward Satisfaction of having serv'd your Country, to the utmost of your Power, by those *lawful Means*, which the Constitution of its Government allows, and by *no others*.

If I hear in that Retreat, to which Age, the Circumstances of Fortune, and, above all the Temper of my Mind determine me, that you succeed, I shall rejoice in the common Joy. If I hear that you fail, my Concern
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for you will be lost in the common Calamity.

The Article with which I propose to conclude my Letter, is of such a Nature that I cannot omit it on this Occasion, with any Regard to Truth, Justice, Honour and the Sentiments of a most reasonable Indignation.

The *Writers*, who are employ'd against you, have received with an unlimited Commission to rail, particular Instructions to direct their *Billinggate* chiefly at *two Gentlemen*. The Art of blackening Characters, by private Closet Whispers, hath been always practised, when Power and Confidence have been given to the *insolent* and the *base*. Perhaps it may have been thought proper at this Time, to confirm the Effect of such Insinuations by an Eccho from the *Press*, and to prevent a general Clamour from sounding in *some Ears*, by raising an artificial Clamour round about them ; but whatever the Design may have been, sure I am, that this Strain of Malice could not have been employ'd against Men, who value it less, or who hold in greater Contempt both the Contrivance and the Contrivers. This *They* may do, because *They* are falsely and maliciously accused ; but *He*, who is the Object of a just Clamour and of national Hatred, and who cannot turn his Eyes on Himself without confessing to Himself that He is a principal Cause of the Grievances of his Country, must tremble at a Clamour, which He knows ought, and which He hath

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Reason to fear will, sooner or later prevail against Him.

The Calumny against one of the Gentlemen, mentioned above, is confin'd to two Heads; that He hath left *his Friends and Party*, and that He is urged to *oppose the M--r by the Stings of disappointed Ambition*. How ridiculous is the Charge, and on whom can such Stuff impose? hath He Changed his Notions of Right and wrong in Matters of Government? Hath He renounced the Principles of good Policy, which He formerly profess'd? His greatest Enemy is desy'd to shew that He hath; and yet unless This can be shewn, nothing can be more impertinent, or more silly than the Imputation of leaving his *Friends and Party*. If He pursues the same general Principles of Conduct, with which He first set out and is in Opposition now to some few of *Those*, with whom He concurred then, *They* have left Him, because *They* have left the *Principles* *They* professed. *He* left *neither*. For Instance, He inveighs against *publick Profusion* and *private Corruption*. He combats *both* with a constant Inflexibility, which might have done Honour to a *Roman Citizen*, in the best Times of that Commonwealth. Hath He left his *Friends* in doing This? No; *They* who oppose Him in it, have left both *Him* and *Vertue*; and *such Men*, tho' *They* have sometimes had the Honour to concur with *Him*, could never be his *Friends*.

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Is the *latter Part* of the Charge better founded? Is it not a manifest begging of the Question, and a begging of it on the least probable Side? He assisted a *M——r* to rise to Power. He opposes *this M——r* in Power. *Ergo*, *Spite* and *Resentment* are his Motives. May not the *Abuse* which He apprehends this *M——r* makes of his *Power*, may not *Measures*, which He fears are wicked, knows are weak, and sees obstinately pursued, be his Motives. May not dangerous Ambition, insatiable Avarice and insolent Behaviour, be his Provocations? May not this Gentleman think Himself the more obliged to contribute to this *M——r's* Fall, for having contributed so much to his Elevation? Let me ask farther, whom We shall soonest suspect to have been actuated by Sentiments of private Interest; the Person accus'd, or his Accuser? whose Circumstances most demanded, whose Family most required an Increase of Wealth and Fortune; Those of the Accused, or Those of the Accuser? Who hath given greatest Proofs of Avarice to gather, and Profusion to squander; the Accused, or the Accuser? In whom have We seen stronger Evidences of that *vindictive* Temper, which prompts to personal Spite and Resentment; in the Accused, or the Accuser.

If we may form any Judgment of the *Gentleman accused*, there is not the least Colour of Reason to suppose that his *Opposition* proceeds from a Spirit of *Ambition*, or a Design of

of pushing himself into the *Administration*. He hath already possessed *two* very considerable *Employments* in the State; *one* of which He voluntarily laid down, as by his Conduct in *Parliament*, against some Measures of the *Court*, He forced the *Ministers* to take the *other* away, having behaved with unspotted Integrity in *both*; and if I am rightly inform'd of his Resolution by Those who seem to know him very well, it will hardly be ever in the Power of the greatest Man in *England*, or the best Friend he has in the World, to persuade him to accept of a *Third*.

— There is an Ambition, with which *these Spreaders of Calumny* and their *Masters* are intirely unacquainted; the Ambition of *doing good* and receiving the Reward in *Fame*. He who hath *this Ambition*, can never be disappointed in the *other*; and if any Man, in our Age and Country, hath Reason to be satisfied with his Success in the Pursuit of *this Ambition*, it is the *Gentleman*, of whom We speak.

Whenever the *Defamation*, which hath been *displayed* against the *other Gentleman* is examined with the least Knowledge of Facts, or the least Impartiality of Judgement, it will appear equally false, and perhaps still more scandalous; for, in *this Case*, the *Slandrers* take an ungenerous and mean Advantage, which they have not in the *other*; the Advantage, which his singular Situation gives them. They, who have declin'd a
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Contest with Him, whilst he was in a Condition to answer for Himself, have not blush'd to declaim against Him in an other Condition. They have experienc'd, in *his Case*, that the *unfortunate* are not *friendless*. They may live, perhaps, to experience, in *their own*, that the *guilty* are so. Another Advantage, which *these Slanderers* take against *this Gentleman*, arises from the various Scenes of Life, through which He hath pass'd; some distant in Places, some secret in their Nature. Here Calumny hath more Room to assert, and Innocence less Opportunity to defend. Common Honesty, in some Cases, and even Decency, in others, shut the Mouth of the Man, who carries these Qualities about Him; and even more in his *own Cause* than in That of *another Person*; but Calumny is subject to none of these Controuls; and We speak of our own Knowledge, when We affirm that, in the *present Case*, the false Imputations, which the *Accusers* bring, are screen'd from absolute Detection by nothing but the Honour of the *Accused*.

Let us take Notice of some of the Crimes (for Crimes and heinous Crimes They would be, if the Facts were in any Degree, true) which are laid to the Charge of *this Gentleman*.

His *Ingratitude and Treachery* to the late Duke of *Marborough* and the Earl of *Gedolphin* stand first in the Roll. I believe no Man acknowledges more sincere than He, the superior

superior Merit of these *two illustrious Men*, or wishes more ardently that They were now alive, and had the Conduct of the Affairs of *Great Britain*; but I know no *Obligation of Gratitude* or *Honour*, which He lay under to continue in their Administration, when the Measures of it were *alter'd*. They might have Reasons, perhaps good Reasons, for *altering their Measures*. He could have none in Point of *Honour*, what ever he might have had in Point of *Interest*, for complying with *that Alteration*. Some of the Enemies of *this Gentleman* came into the World on *such a Foot*, that they might think it Preferment to be the *Creature*, of any *Men in Power*. He, who came into it upon *another foot*, was the *Friend*, but not the *Creature* of these *great Men*, and he hath had the Satisfaction of proving Himself such, on different Occasions, and without Ostentation, at least to *one* of them, at a Time, when the *Creatures of great Men* usually renounce them; at a Time, when They could do him neither Good nor Hurt. That he came to Court, on the Call of the *late Queen*, in Opposition to *Them*, and exerted himself in her Service, when they serv'd Her no longer, will not be objected to him by any Man, who thinks more Allegiance due to the *Prince* than to the *Minister*. If the *present M——r* hath a Mind to avow a contrary Doctrine, he hath my Consent; but then let Those, who engage

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with him, remember on what terms they engage — On the same false Principle is another *Accusation* brought. *This Gentleman* had no Patron, or Patroness, but the late *Queen*. He neither *projected*, nor *procured the Disgrace* of her last *Minister*, nor knew that it was resolved, whatever he might suspect, till he heard from herself that it was so. Much more might be said on this Article; but we chuse to pass it over for many Reasons and, among others, for this; that whilst we defend the *Living*, We are unwilling to say any Thing, which might be drawn by these *Slandrers* into an Insult on the *Dead*.

The last Charge of *Ingratitude*, brought against *this Gentleman*, is hard to be answer'd seriously. Thus much however shall be said truly and seriously. He acknowledges, with the deepest Sense of Gratitude possible, the Clemency and Goodness of his late *Majesty*, but sure he hath Reason, if ever Man had Reason, to disclaim all Obligation to the *M* — *r*. The Mercy of the late *King* was extended to him unasked and unearn'd. What follow'd many Years afterwards in Part of his Majesty's gracious Intentions, was due solely to the *King*. That they were not fulfilled, was due solely to the *M* — *r*. His Ambition, his causeless Jealousy, and private Interest, continued a Sort of *Proscription*, with much Cruelty to the *Person* concerned, and
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little Regard to the Declarations, which his *Royal Master* had been pleased so frequently to make.

That *This Gentleman* was engaged in the Cause of the *Pretender*, is true. That He served him unfaithfully, is false. He never entered into *these Engagements* or *any Commerce with him*, till he had been *attainted*, and cut off from the Body of his Majesty's Subjects. He never had *any Commerce*, either direct or indirect, which was inconsistent with *these Engagements* whilst he continued in them; and since he was out of them he hath had no *Commerce*, either direct or indirect in Favour of *that Cause*. On such an Occasion as this it is decent, not arrogant, to challenge all Mankind. I do it therefore, in the Behalf of *this Gentleman*, to produce one single Proof, in a Contradiction of any one of these general Affirmations. For the Truth of some, I may appeal even to *Those*, who have been in the Service of his *late*, and are in that of his *present Majesty*; and particularly to a *noble Lord*, who by the Post he was in, when most of these Transactions passed, must have had the best Opportunities of knowing the Truth of them, and by whose Testimony I am willing that the *Gentleman* I defend should stand or fall; a Decision to which, I am sure, he will himself be ready to submit his Life and, what is more, his Honour.

I make you no Excuse for the Length of
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my Letter. The Justice I have done, or endeavour'd to do, to Those, who have been vilely calumniated, and particularly on the Occasion of your Writings and of mine, will be a sufficient Excuse of itself.

I am, S I R, &c.

H. OLDCASTLE



F I N I S.

